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P. 483. For "30 plays" read "20 plays," for "30,000 lines" read "about 21,000 lines" (20,870).—B. L. G.

### III.—NOTES ON THE USE OF GERUND AND GERUNDIVE IN PLAUTUS AND TERENCE.

In this paper are presented some results obtained from a comparison of the various uses of gerunds and gerundives in Plautus and Terence. In vol. IX, Nos. 2 and 4 of this Journal, there were given statistics and results of a similar investigation in Tacitus and Pliny the Younger. In the Silver Age there was, of course, a much larger development of this peculiar Latin usage than could be expected in an earlier stage of the language, but it is evident upon investigation that even in Plautus there is a sufficient number of cases of gerunds and gerundives to make it clear that most of the later constructions and idioms had already been developed to a very considerable extent. It would be improper to institute an exact comparison between such totally different literary forms as Comedy and History or Correspondence, but some conclusions may perhaps be based on such a comparison. An analysis and classification of all the occurrences of these forms in Plautus and Terence may be of value, by stating the exact frequency of such uses, by giving an idea of the style of each writer in employing these forms, and by making possible an exact comparison of their Latinity in this respect, as well as some inferences concerning the growth of this method of expression during the few years intervening between them.

The most noticeable result of this analysis is the fact that in Early Latin the gerund is more frequently employed than the gerundive. Exactly the opposite was found to be the case in Silver Latin, as was to be expected, especially if it is assumed that the latter is a development from the former. In this comparison it should be remembered that in the 30 plays of Plautus there are in round numbers 30,000 lines, and in the 6 plays of Terence only about 6000. Therefore, if about the same absolute number of occurrences of any given usage is found in each, a much larger relative frequency in the later writer is indicated. It will be clearly seen that in Terence's time the language had advanced in this respect, and that these forms of expression play a more important part than they had done a few years before.

To facilitate comparison with the previous papers, precisely the same system of classification and numbering is employed here.

1. Genitive of gerund depending upon a substantive and used absolutely, without any modifying or dependent words. (Plautus) Dependent upon *copia*: dormitandi neque cunctandi Epid. 162, adeundi atque impetrandi Mil. 1226; with *tempus*: adeundi Pers. 4. 2. 21, Trin. 432; with *occasio*: fugiendi Capt. 117, faciundi Epid. 271; — modus dandi Asin. 167; partem loquendi Asin. 515; loquendi locum Capt. 212; dicundi gratia Curc. 706; ornandi satietas Poen. 215; compendium pultandi Pseud. 605; ducendi lubido Trin. 745. (Terence) Dependent upon *copia*: crescendi Heaut. 28, inspiciundi Eun. 21, tangendi Eun. 638, videndi Eun. 639; with *causa*: obiurgandi And. 158, mittundi Phor. 50, (understood with) adsentandi Ad. 270; — obiurgandi locus And. 154; facilitatem pariundi And. 233; orandi finem And. 822; tempus consulendi Hec. 746; spatium vocandi sacrificandi Phor. 702; otium auscultandi Ad. 420.

There are 15 of these gerunds in Plautus and 14 in Terence, indicating a greater relative frequency, but a comparison of the passages furnishes no indication of any marked difference in the object or character of this usage. In general the same governing words are found which occur in every stage of the language, and the relation expressed is objective.

(a) In a few cases some modifying words occur depending on the gerund. (Plautus) Dependent on *copia*: recte conciliandi Pers. 4. 3. 77, in capite tuo conflandi Rud. 765; — male loquendi viam Poen. 629; male facundist potestas Stich. 117; respondendi mihi (labori) Pseud. 6. (Terence) liberius vivendi potestas And. 52; spatium cogitandi ad disturbandas nuptias And. 182; in aliis potius peccandi locum And. 232; causa retinendi apud vos Hec. 255; de integro potestas consulendi Phor. 174. This form was always rather sparingly employed—compared, that is, with the absolute use—and there seem to be no differences between Plautus and Terence sufficient to warrant any conclusions.

(b) In Terence there are two lines where gerunds occur in dependence upon an adjective, and none at all in Plautus. Cupida huc redeundi, abeundi a milite Vosque hic videndi Hec. 92–3, and ejus videndi cupidus Hec. 372, where *eius* is fem. and therefore *videndi* is the gerund; cf. XII. Plautus is not the only writer who does not use this construction, although it is not infrequent later. Its use even in few cases may perhaps be counted as slight evidence of the development of the gerundial form.

2. Genitive of the gerund depending upon a substantive and used transitively with a dependent accusative expressed or directly

understood. (Plautus) spatiumst perferundi quae minitas Capt. 743; ius optinendi optio Cas. 190; te defrudandi causa Men. 687; te rogandi (labori) Pseud. 6; potestas adipiscundist gloriam Stich. 280; rem perdundi gratia Curc. 706. (Terence) quae narrandi locus And. 354; existumandi copiam consuetudinem Heaut. 282; spatium adparandi nuptias Phor. 701; eludendi occasio senes Phor. 885; potestas condecorandi ludos Hec. 45 (cf. also Hec. 93, quoted under 1 *b*), spatium amandi amicam 684.

Here again there is practically an equal number of cases, which gives the relatively greater frequency to Terence. In character there seems to be no perceptible variation.

3. Gerund used with a preposition. (*a*) With *ad*: (Plautus) after a verb or past participle—magis cita ad perdundum ad scribundum Bacch. 738, ad male faciundum nimis doctus Epid. 378, conductus venio. Ad furandum quidem Pseud. 850; after a noun—ad loquendum atque ad tacendum habeas portisculum Asin. 516, benignitas ad auscultandum Mil. 80, in ad pervestigandum operam sumam Merc. 935 there might be a question whether the gerund depended on the noun or verb; after an adjective—aetas sat est ad perdiscendum Truc. 1. (Terence) After a noun or adjective—animus ad scribendum adpulit And. 1, canes ad venandum And. 57, causae ad obiurgandum And. 138 and 150, dies non satis ad agendum, me vocivom ad narrandum And. 706, aetas ad ducendum Phor. 423, otium ad potandum Phor. 832.

The number of occurrences is almost the same, 9 and 8, and there appears in this class only an extremely slight variation in usage. In Terence, in every case (unless the first-quoted be excepted), the gerund depends upon a noun or adjective; in Plautus there are three cases of its dependence upon a verb or participle. If the participles be regarded as adjectives, only one case of the use of a verb is quoted from Plautus.

(*b*) With *in*: (Plautus) linguam in tussiendo proserat Asin. 795, in sortiundo sors delicuerit Cas. 399, in cogitando dolorem indispiscor Trin. 224. (Terence) in pariundo adfuerunt liberae And. 771, tuom esse in potiundo periculum Heaut. 323, in cognoscendo tute ipse aderis Eun. 894, in deterrendo operam sumere Hec. 25, in experiundo ut essem Hec. 38, in agendo partem ostendent Ad. 24, in experiundo ut repudies Ad. 858, contrivi in quaerundo vitam Ad. 869, in adparando consumunt diem Ad. 900.

Here the first very marked difference in frequency of use is noticed, Terence in his 6 plays having this construction 9 times,

while Plautus in 20 plays has it only 3 times. Moreover, the relations expressed by this form in Terence are much more various than in Plautus, as may be clearly seen by examining the passages quoted.

(c) With *ex*: (Plautus) *ex gratulando vix eminebam* Capt. 504. (Terence) *id fieri . . . ex adsentando, indulgendo et largiendo* Ad. 988.

With *pro*: (Plautus) *pro vapulando hercle ego abs te mercedem petam* Aul. 456.

Nothing but the great infrequency of prepositions, except *ad* and *in*, is to be noted here.

4. Dative of gerund, used with or without object. This usage occurs in Plautus only, in the following cases:—Dependent on *modus*: *quid modist ductando, amando?* Asin. 169, *quid modi amplexando facies?* Asin. 882, *quid modi flendo facies?* Mil. 1311; with *pausa*: *osculando pausam fieri* Rud. 1205; with *opera*: *Epidicum operam quaerendo dabo* Epid. 605, *Eae nos lavando eluendo operam dederunt* Poen. 223, *auscultando operam dare* Amph. 1006; — *curando id me adlegavit* Stich. 681; in one case, *exemplum experiundo habeas* Mil. 637, the reading is very doubtful, so no conclusion can be drawn from it.

This is, in all stages of the language, a rare construction, and it is said that there is no instance of an object occurring after a gerund used thus, except these two or three in Plautus. It seems clear that this construction did not commend itself to Terence, and that it is a survival of the rudeness of an illiterate age. In the examples quoted it will be noticed that the usage is exceedingly limited in extent. In all but two of the cases the gerund depends upon an idea of limit or attention.

5. Ablative of the gerund without a preposition denoting manner or means. (a) With an object accusative: (Plautus) *manendo medicum* Men. 883, *hominem<sup>1</sup> investigando* Mil. 260, *male fidem servando* Trin. 1048. (Terence) *eadem et graviter audiendo victus* Heaut. 114, *bene vortendo et easdem scribendo male . . . fecit* Eun. 7, *oculos terendo expresserit* Eun. 68, *defessa te ridendo* Eun. 1008, *ea refellendo aut pugnando* Hec. 254.

(d) Used absolutely without modifiers; (Plautus) *pugnando* Amph. 414, Asin. 555, Men. 1054, Mil. 267; *pultando* Most. 456, Stich. 313; *lamentando* Merc. 218, Truc. 731; *advorsando* Stich.

<sup>1</sup> There is here a variation in reading. Ritschl reads *homini*, which of course removes this case from this class. In any case, there are twice as many instances of this usage in Terence as in Plautus.

71, amando Merc. 312, ausculando Asin. 897, castigando Bacch. 981, dissimulando Most. 1015, exorando Stich. 71, experiundo Rud. 186, exspectando Epid. 320, fando Amph. 588, fricando Poen. 231, lavando Poen. 231, luctando Bacch. 428, mendicando Bacch. 514, negando Poen. 778, osculando Asin. 223, parasitando Pers. 1. 2. 4, pernegando Rud. 1017, potando Rud. 361, quassando Epid. 432, restitendo retinendo Capt. 502, rogitando Epid. 200, saliendo Bacch. 429, sedendo spectando Men. 882, vapulando Curc. 215. (Terence) accusando Phor. 1034, ambulando Hec. 435, 815, Adel. 713, consolando Heaut. 86, coquendo Ad. 847, cursando Hec. 815, experiundo Heaut. 331, gratulando Heaut. 879, intelligendo And. 17, molendo Ad. 847, orando And. 544, Heaut. 330, pollicitando And. 912, quaerundo Heaut. 675, sollicitando And. 912, tundendo Hec. 123, vapulando verberando Ad. 213.

34 cases in Plautus, 19 in Terence, a relatively greater number. There are some peculiarities of this form worth noting. For instance, in the four places in Plautus where *pugnando* occurs, it is always preceded by *vi*, showing that to Plautus this gerund corresponded precisely to a substantive. This is also shown by the combinations in some of the other cases, but not so strikingly. On the whole, however, there seems to be no perceptible change in manner of use between Plautus and Terence.

(e) Used with some modifying word or phrase: (Plautus) apud omnis aedis sacras quaeritando Amph. 1014, bene salutando compellando blanditer Asin. 222, pultando assulatim Capt. 832, male suadendo Curc. 508, cubando in lecto Truc. 916. (Terence) male narrando Phor. 697. Some of the cases quoted under (a) might be counted here too, as in them the gerund has a modifying word beside the object accusative.

To sum up under this head: there are 43 cases of the ablative of the gerund in Plautus and 27 in Terence. The relative frequency of use in Terence is therefore twice as great in the later poet. In the actual occurrences there seems to be no difference in method of employment.

### *The Gerundive.*

6. Genitive of the gerundive agreeing with noun or pronoun, expressed or understood, and dependent upon another substantive. (Plautus) illius inspectandi copia Bacch. 487, conveniundi ejus copiam Merc. 850, ejus conveniundi copiam Capt. 748, lucis tuendi copiam Capt. 1008, liberorum quaerundorum causa Capt. 889,

potestatem caloris ulli capiendi Truc. 293, spes vostrum cognoscendum Rud. 1145. (Terence) et cognoscendi et ignoscendi dabitur peccati locus Heaut. 218, retinendi illius causa Eun. 620, eius amittendi nec retinendi copia Phor. 176, spes hujusce habendae Phor. 827, tempus conveniundi patris Phor. 828, potestatem ejus adhibendae Phor. 880.

There are of this usage 7 cases in Plautus and 8 in Terence. If now we look back at 2 (*a*), it will be seen that in each writer there are 6 cases of the genitive of the gerund used with an accusative object. In later times the tendency was to replace this latter construction by the former, but that tendency is hardly visible before 150 B. C. It is to be noted, however, that this form is relatively very much more frequent in Terence than in Plautus.

7. Dative of gerundive and substantive used as final clause after verbal or adjectival expression. (Plautus) argento<sup>1</sup> comparando fingere fallaciam Asin. 250, inveniundo<sup>1</sup> argento ut fingeres fallaciam Asin. 252, rei quaerundae operam dare Merc. 551, rei agendae operam dare Merc. 987, da diem meis rebus agendis Poen. 1189, ius iurandum rei servandae non perdundae conditumst Rud. 1374, metriculis moeniendis rem coegit Truc. 310, armamentis complendis componendis studuimus Merc. 192, lectis sternendis studuimus munditiisque adparandis Stich. 678, lucro faciundo auspicari Pers. 4. 6. 7, nox scitast exercendo scorto Amph. 288, salutare sit liberis procreandis Aul. 148, centuplex murus rebus servandis parum est Pers. 4. 4. 11, optimum esse operi faciundo corium Rud. 757. (Terence) his rebus anulus fuit initium inveniendis Hec. 821, natum ferundis miseriis Ad. 545.

8. Gerundive used in a passive sense in the predicate, after certain verbs, to denote the object of their action. (Plautus) with *dare*: hanc servandam Asin. 676, spectandum anulum Asin. 778, te elinguandam Aul. 250, famem utendam Aul. 311, aurum servandum Bacch. 338, puellam exponendam Cist. 1. 3. 18, adglutinandam totam Cist. 3. 3. 17, statuam faciundam Curc. 440, anulum utendum Curc. 603, pallium utendum Men. 659, (hanc) concinendam Men. 733, quam servandam Merc. 238, excrucians me

<sup>1</sup> The first two cases quoted from Plautus are probably interpolations, but leaving them out, there are 14 cases in Plautus for 2 in Terence. The frequency of this construction in Silver Latin is well known, and it may have been characteristic of the earliest stage of the language, regarded with disfavor by such cultivated writers as Terence, and brought into vogue again through the antiquarian tendencies of the later writers, like Tacitus, who uses it more than any other writer.



Mil. 567, quaerundas duas Mil. 803, nummos utendos Pers. 1. 3. 38, filiam utendam Pers. 1. 3. 47, (filiam) utendam Pers. 1. 3. 48, hoc spectandum Pers. 3. 3. 36, pulchram spectandam Poen. 338, illunc excrucandum Poen. 1302; with *locare*: me castrandum Aul. 251, eferendum (illum) Aul. 568, caedundos agnos Capt. 819, praebenda Pers. 1. 3. 80; with other verbs: artoptam utendam *peto* Aul. 400, caedundum illum *conduxi* Aul. 567, oculos nec *rogo* utendos foris Mil. 347, utenda vasa rogant Aul. 96. (Terence) with *dare*: (puellam) exponendam Heaut. 630 and 650, servandum quicquam Eun. 903, quem adoptandum Ad. 463; with other verbs: hunc comedendum vobis *propino* et deridendum Eun. 1087, agrum de nostro patre colendum habebat Phor. 365.

(In two cases in Plautus—caedundus tu homo's Cas. 518, and faciunda pondo duam nummum stalagmia, da inauris mihi Men. 541—the gerundive seems to have almost a simple adjective value.)

It will be seen that this usage is almost a stereotyped formula, and that in Plautus, in two-thirds of all the cases of its occurrence, it is with the verb *dare*, and in four more with *locare*. In Terence the proportion is somewhat less, but the inference seems warranted that the ordinary earliest usage was with *dare*, and one or two verbs like *locare* and *conducere*, and that its use with other verbs like *petere* and *rogare* was the result of analogy and a somewhat later development.

10. Gerundive and substantive used with prepositions. (a) With *ad*: (Plautus) ad aquam praebendam Amph. 669, ad sufferundas plagas Asin. 557, advortendum ad animum Merc. 11, ad enarrandum hoc Mil. 79, ad te diripiundum Poen. 646, ad aetatem agundam Trin. 232, ad quaerundum honorem Trin. 646. (Terence) ad haec utenda Heaut. 133, ad defendendam noxiam Phor. 225, ad dicendam causam Phor. 266, ad disturbandas nuptias And. 182.

This construction, so common in the later stages of the language, shows a slightly greater frequency in the later of the two writers under consideration, but calls for no further comment.

(c) With *in*: (Plautus) in mercimoniis emundis vendundisque Amph. 2, in aetate agunda Amph. 633. (Terence) in prologis scribundis And. 5, in opere faciundo Heaut. 73, in illis exercendis Heaut. 74, in re incipiunda Phor. 225.

This construction became very common later, and shows a greater absolute, and consequently much greater relative, frequency in Terence than in Plautus.

(d) With *de*: (only in Terence) de redducenda (ea) Hec. 391 and 403, de occludendis aedibus Eun. 784.

It is rather strange that no case of this kind occurs in Plautus, for three cases in Terence are enough to show that in his time it was a thoroughly good usage.

(g) With *inter*: only once in Plautus—*inter rem agendam istam Cist. 4. 2. 56*—an extremely rare use, quoted once from Enn. (fr. inc. 1. 2) and twice from Livy, and a very few times besides. Terence would not be expected to use such an idiom.

(h) With *pro*: only once in Plautus and not in Terence—*pro liberanda amica Persa 426*. This construction is found in all stages of the language, but must always have been infrequent.

It is to be noted that the numbers of these different usages are 11 in Terence to 12 in Plautus, marking a distinct gain in frequency.

11. Ablative of gerundive and substantive used after verbs, verbal phrases and adjectives. (Plautus) *opere faciundo lassus Asin. 873*, *te aggerunda curvom aqua faciam Cas. 124*, *dirumpi cantando hymenaeo Cas. 809*, *aggerundaque aqua defessi Poen. 224*, *retunsumst oppugnando pectore Pseud. 1045*, *pugnis memorandis meis eradicabam hominis aures Epid. 446*. (Terence) *opere rustico faciundo sumptum exercirent suum Heaut. 142*, *animus commotus mirando tanto bono And. 938*.

This is a comparatively frequent construction in classical Latin, but always strikes the ear as slightly strained, and evidently was rare enough in earlier times. Terence could not have liked it much, although he can hardly be said to have greatly preferred the ablative of the gerund with an accusative object.

12. There are two or three cases in each writer of uses which do not come under any of the above classes.

(a) As examples of the construction which stands between the gen. of the gerund and its object in the acc., and the gen. of the gerundive agreeing with its logical object, we find: (Plautus) *nominandi istorum tibi erit magis quam edundi copia Capt. 852*; (Terence) *novarumque spectandi faciunt copiam Heaut. 29*. Also (Plautus) *tui (fem.) videndi copias Truc. 370*; (Terence) *ejus (fem.) videndi cupidus Hec. 372*.

Such sporadic cases occur at all stages of the language. The use of a gen. of the pronoun with the gen. of the gerund is less unusual than that of a noun in the same dependence.

In the *Persa 4. 3. 60* *forma expetenda liberalem mulierem* we have the gerundive used as a simple attributive adjective.

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